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SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE

PARTIAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE EIGHT HUNDRED AND FIFTY-NINTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 9 October 1973, at 11.15 a.m.

Chairman:	Mr. TOURE	(Guinea)
Rapporteur:	Mr. AKBEL	(Turkey)

- Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa
  - (a) Reports of the Special Committee on Apartheid
  - (b) Reports of the Secretary-General
- Statement by Mr. Barakat Ahmad (India), Rapporteur of the Special Committee on Apartheid
- Statement by Mr. Ogbu (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid

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POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. BARAKAT AHMAD (India) Rapporteur of the Special Committee on Apartheid: It is a repeat performance of a Greek tragedy. Having presented to the Special Political Committee a cheerless report last year, I did not think I would have the misfortune of introducing once more not one but four reports which in their every aspect are more dismal, depressing and disconcerting. I apoligize to the representatives for inflicting on them a sad tale which is not 'best' even for a Shakespearean winter.

Mr. Chairman, your country is a member of the Special Committee on Apartheid, and under your leadership the Hungarian delegation to the Special Committee on Apartheid has made a great contribution to the work of the Committee and especially to the International Conference of Trade Unions against Apartheid. I hope that under your Chairmanship the Special Political Committee will be able to take realistic and practical decisions on problems which have so far defied any solution.

Last year, while introducing the report, I said that if I had my way I would submit only a two-page report; on page 1, I would give the gist of the United Nations resolutions on apartheid, and on the other I would simply say that most of them remained unimplemented. I was mistaken. The list of such resolutions alone runs into more than five pages.

The report of the Special Committee on Apartheid contained in document A/9022, which I beg to introduce by your leave, is almost half the length of that of last year. I have tried to keep my promise to reduce the burden of documentation, though I must confess that, this being the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the Special Committee on Apartheid, the temptation to review the failures and achievements of the last ten years was great. I am also introducing three other reports -- in documents A/9168, A/9169 and A/9180 -- prepared by the Committee as requested by the General Assembly last year. Through these reports the Special Committee has attempted to make a contribution to the search for an effective strategy of struggle against the apartheid régime and its policies. In many ways -- and I believe I am not complimenting our own work unduly -- these reports are unusual, and I shall try to explain why as I introduce each one of them.

(Mr. Barakat Ahmad, India)

The annual report of the Special Committee (A/9022) covers not only the work of the Committee in discharge of its mandate during the past year, but represents also a major effort to assess the work of the Committee over the decade of its existence and the role played by the international campaign against apartheid with a view to formulating a more effective programme of action in light of the forthcoming United Nations Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The annex to the report contains a comprehensive analytical review of developments in South Africa during the past year which we have tried to make as brief and as much to the point as possible.

In drawing up its programme for 1973, the Committee emphasized action-orientation, and representatives will find that the Special Committee took vigorous action under the energetic leadership of its Chairman, Mr. Edwin Ogebe Ogbu of Nigeria, to discourage and prevent collaboration with South Africa in various areas, especially in the military, economic and sports fields. The black workers, students and other groups struggling against apartheid were also given full support.

The Committee has stepped up one very important aspect of its activity -- namely, consultations with anti-apartheid groups in order to achieve greater co-ordination of information and action. That was done not only during the special session here but particularly at the Oslo Conference and the International Trade Union Conference in Geneva, when delegations from the Special Committee met several groups in Europe. In this connexion, one of the important developments in 1974 will be a conference of non-governmental organizations to formulate a programme of action on colonialism and apartheid in southern Africa. The Special Committee has recommended that the United Nations should participate effectively in preparations for and the proceedings of the conference. The Special Committee has also recommended that in 1974 a special session of the Special Committee should be held in Europe in order to facilitate participation by anti-apartheid groups there.

As requested by the General Assembly last year, the Committee has increased its co-ordination and co-operation with the specialized agencies of the United Nations, the other United Nations bodies concerned with southern Africa and the Organization of African Unity. The report contains a thorough assessment

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of the role played by those bodies and a concrete programme of action for an integrated approach to the struggle against apartheid and colonialism

This year the Committee took an important step by approaching Governments at the highest possible level. The Chairman, assisted by the Rapporteur and other members of the Committee, met the Foreign Ministers and other high Government officials of several countries which have historical, political, economic and other ties with South Africa and which we feel might be persuaded to sympathize with our point of view. In this respect, the visit paid by the Chairman and the Rapporteur to Bonn, where they met the Vice-Chancellor and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Minister for Economic Co-operation and other high officials of the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as various other organizations, was particularly significant.

During next year, the Committee envisages more consultations at the highest level with countries that have close ties with South Africa and can therefore contribute greatly to action against apartheid. It has undertaken preliminary consultations during this session of the General Assembly and they have been most encouraging.

The Committee has launched again an earnest appeal to the Member States from Western Europe, North America and Australasia to reconsider their attitude and to join the Committee which, as members know, has two vacancies to be filled from those groups.

The Committee has devoted special attention also to the draft convention on the suppression and punishment of the crime of apartheid, which is being submitted to this session of the General Assembly. It is an important instrument in the campaign to isolate the illegal white minority régime and we hope that the General Assembly will adopt the draft convention at this session.

The chapter on conclusions and recommendations contains a section on the proposed programme of work for 1974 which includes the measures I have already mentioned and a number of other recommendations made on the basis of the programme of action highlighted at the Oslo Conference, the resolution passed by the International Trade Union Conference and the consultations held by the Special Committee and by the missions it sent to the various conferences. The programme emphasizes concerted action by the United Nations and Member States, specialized

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agencies and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations: We believe that such a comprehensive programme is essential in order to ensure the strengthening of action against apartheid at the launching of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

This year the report has not gone into details of repressive measures against the opponents of apartheid. Previous annual reports have exhaustively dealt with these measures and therefore a repetitious description of the draconian laws has not been given this year. The representatives will find information on those measures in document A/AC.115/L.375 of 1 October 1973. For fuller information on this institutionalized terror, which equals and sometimes surpasses the best horror fiction, I would direct the attention of representatives to the report on maltreatment and torture of prisoners in South Africa submitted by me at the last session. The document is available under symbol A/8770. It is also on sale, under symbol ST.PSCA.SER/13. But it is over-priced, and I think that for some of the countries -- especially those where it is most likely to be read -- $3.50 represents almost the weekly wage of an unskilled worker. I was wondering whether it would be possible for the Secretariat to make copies of that report available to representatives and also to reduce the price for those individuals and institutions that cannot obtain a copy of the publication. Paragraphs 66 to 68 of the report deal with some of the recent acts of terrorism against Mrs. Mandela, Mr. John Hosey and Mr. A. Moumbaris.

It is not surprising that most of those who condemn the violence of racism but deny the legitimacy of resistance to that violence are the very people whose investments in South Africa go much deeper than Shaft No. 2 of the Western Deep Levels Goldmines in Carletonville. The other day, speaking to an almost empty General Assembly hall, Mr. Hilgard Muller said, "What transpired at Carletonville will be determined by the judicial inquiry which has been instituted". (A/PV.2141, p.47). That Gilbertian pronouncement by Mr. Muller is more suited to the libretto of "Iolanthe":

"The Law is the true embodiment
Of everything that's excellent.
It has no kind of fault or flaw
And I, my Lords, embody the Law."

If Mr. Muller really wishes a judicial inquiry, then the best course would be to institute an international impartial tribunal.

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The progress report on the educational material requested by the General Assembly in its resolution 2775 B (XXVI) is given in paragraphs 87, 88 and 89 of the report. Unfortunately, in spite of my visit to UNESCO Headquarters in August, I have been unable to expedite publication of this kit. It is a matter for regret. The representatives may like to consider the situation in view of the fact that the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination will begin in less than three months.

I would now invite the attention of representatives to the last three pages of the first annex to the annual report. They deal with South African propaganda. During the last few years the South African Government has taken several steps to improve its image. The South African effort has been limited and concentrated on selected areas. Cosmetics have been used to improve its image in countries which provide investments, tourists and immigrants from skilled white labour.

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The South African Department of Information has offices in London, The Hague, Brussels, Lisbon, Rome, Paris, Geneva, Berne, Cologne, Vienna, New York, Washington, San Francisco, Buenos Aires, Ottawa, Canberra, Wellington and Salisbury. Multinational corporations, bankers and influential groups with access to upper echelons are the object of the South African image builders. I have the highest regard for the work which is being done by some of the non-governmental organizations, anti-apartheid movements and our own Unit on Apartheid and the Office of Public Information. The display of various anti-apartheid publications this morning in the conference hall is indeed impressive. But we have not made the slightest impression on those who matter. The other day the foreign affairs officer of a leading bank -- a scholar in his own right and associated with a well-known university -- who was lunching with me in this very building looked at me in sheer disbelief when I told him about the starvation wages paid by the British firms in South Africa. My offer to send him relevant documentation on the subject did nothing to influence his opinion. I am sure he thought I was talking nonsense, though as a cultured and sophisticated former diplomat he did not say so. Let us admit, here we have failed.

In another context the former Secretary-General, U Thant, said:

"While much has been achieved over the years in promoting world-wide public awareness and understanding of the work, methods and objectives of the Organization, this achievement has been neither total nor evenly spread in various regions of the world." (A/6301/Add.1)

The representatives may like to devote some time to the problem of dissemination of information on apartheid. Section K of chapter II deals with this important subject. The Special Committee has put forward several suggestions and it is hoped that they will be accepted.

In the meantime it is only proper to say that during the last two years the Office of Public Information has done a very good job of improving itself. Objective: Justice has done justice to its name, though I feel the editor is slightly restricted by the mandate which the General Assembly has given to the Office of Public Information. Statements by the representatives,

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Chairmen of the United Nations Committees and the petitioners do not and are not expected to provide pre-digested, easily readable and interesting features. The Office of Public Information bulletin, United Nations and Southern Africa, is still trying to find its place. It started with an orange-yellow masthead, changed into battle green and finally settled with solid black. I am not sure if in this context black is beautiful. Since ordinary Office of Public Information press releases carry United Nations news on the subject, it would be better if this bulletin could be used for analytical articles and features. We do not know what the Office of Public Information is doing in Latin America and how much literature has been produced in Spanish. The report of the Secretary-General (A/9165) is also silent on the subject. As the Rapporteur of the Committee, I should like to thank the Assistant Secretary-General Mr. Akatani, and his staff for their keen interest in the problem of apartheid. We hope that, with the new thematic emphasis and reorganization of the Office of Public Information which the Assistant Secretary-General has undertaken, publicity on apartheid will further improve.

Let me take this opportunity of thanking also the Secretariat and the Chief of the Unit on Apartheid, Mr. Reddy, for their help to the Special Committee and the Rapporteur during the year. To the members of the Special Committee on Apartheid I owe a great debt for their understanding and patience with me and my method of work. The Sub-Committee on the Implementation of United Nations Resolutions and Collaboration with South Africa and its Chairman, Ambassador Seignoret of Trinidad and Tobago, have done a job for which all of us should be grateful. The new Under-Secretary-General of the Department of Political and Security Council Affairs, Mr. Shevchenko, has been a great source of encouragement and help.

I am not sure about valets, but generally few chairmen are heroes to their rapporteurs. Ambassador Ogbu is an exception. His interest in the work of the Special Committee, his energy and devotion to the cause and his leadership have enhanced the prestige and efficiency of the Special Committee. The Special Committee unanimously decided at its last meeting to convey its gratitude to the Government of Nigeria for the services which the representative of Nigeria has rendered to the Committee as its Chairman.

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This has been a rather long introduction to a comparatively short report, and I have to introduce three more. The soporific quality of such long statements lies in their monotony, which provoked François Rabelais to say, "I never sleep comfortably except when I am at a sermon." Without disturbing those representatives who might have managed to take a nap during this monotonous and long statement, I would now refer to the report on the implementation by Member States of United Nations resolutions on apartheid, contained in document A/9168. At this stage I should like to apologize to Ambassador Seignoret and to the representatives for the fact that the report was not available this morning. The Secretariat had to produce four reports in a very short time, and I am sure, on behalf of the Secretariat and the Rapporteur, the representatives will accept this apology. This report is being submitted in accordance with the request contained in General Assembly resolution 2923 (XXVII). The Sub-Committee dealing with the subject was first presided over by Ambassador Hady Toure of Guinea, who did the initial work of organizing the work of the Sub-Committee. On his departure Ambassador Seignoret took over the chairmanship of the Sub-Committee. I have already taken the opportunity of conveying the Special Committee's thanks to Ambassador Seignoret for his work as the Chairman of the Sub-Committee.

The report is a sad commentary on international morality. The responsibility for the ineffectiveness of past international action and hence for the continuation and aggravation of the crisis in South Africa, and in southern Africa as a whole, rests not only on the South African régime but also on certain States and foreign economic and other interests which collaborate with that régime.

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It is the first time that a report of this kind has been prepared, not only by the apartheid Committee, but by any United Nations body. The report flows out of the realization that an effective international campaign against apartheid must take into account the obstacles placed in our way by foreign interests which have a substantial stake, whether political, strategic, or economic, in the perpetuation of the existing system of oppression in southern Africa.

The report consists of three main chapters and several main annexes. The first chapter is historical, and provides an account of the evolution in the United Nations approach to the problem of racial discrimination in South Africa. The second chapter provides a general view of the complex network of foreign interests operating in South Africa. This chapter is supplemented by a number of annexes in which details on such aspects of collaboration as diplomatic relations, trade and investment figures, banking loans, air and ocean communications, immigration, tourism and other matters have been painstakingly assembled.

The report involved a great deal of work in comparatively short time, and does not pretend in any way to represent a full statement on implementation of United Nations resolutions. Rather, the Committee would like to consider it as an interim report which should be continuously expanded and updated through a number of additional papers and studies to be prepared either by the Secretariat or by experts. The propaganda of the South African régime and of foreign investors in South Africa, as I have indicated earlier, must be combated actively, and world public opinion must be encouraged to take appropriate action to dissuade all collaboration with the South African régime by States and vested interests.

While Ambassador Seignoret, I hope, will make a statement on the report to the Committee, I would like to invite the attention of the representatives to annex I. The Sub-Committee, with the help of the Secretariat, has produced a very useful compendium of United Nations resolutions in some way similar to the concordance which the representative of Kuwait, Mr. Fayz Sayegh, has prepared on the Arab-Israeli conflict.

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Within the larger issue of continued collaboration with South Africa by certain Member States, the Special Committee has devoted considerable attention to the question of the implementation of the arms embargo. The Committee is greatly concerned over the rapid military build-up in South Africa and the continued violations of the embargo by some Western States, which have resulted in the serious aggravation of the situation in South Africa and in southern Africa as a whole.

The South African Government has continued to claim great advances in the local manufacture of arms, ammunition and military equipment and vehicles. Professor H. J. Samuels, President of the Armaments Board, announced in November 1972 that South Africa was manufacturing 80 per cent of its arms. He is also report to have claimed:

> "In a short time we have been able to make Atlas one of the most modern aircraft factories in the world."

Speaking in the General Assembly on 5 October, Mr. Hilgard Muller said:

> "South Africa is one of the world's major producers of uranium. We possess large exploitable deposits of low-grade uranium and we provide a stable supply of a portion of the world's uranium on a competitive basis. At the present moment we are engaged in assessing our capability of supplying this nuclear fuel in an enriched form since enriched uranium is the fuel for most nuclear power reactors." (A/PV.2141, p. 46)

The newly-created Uranium Enrichment Corporation is spending more than 550 million rand on a large-scale factory at Valindaba.

Because of the gravely deteriorating situation in South Africa and southern Africa as a whole, the Special Committee has submitted a special report to the Security Council and the General Assembly on the recent development concerning the military build-up in South Africa and the implementation of the arms embargo against South Africa. The report is contained in document A/9180. The annex to the report contains a number of examples of recent violations of the arms embargo and an assessment of the contribution that these Western Powers have made to South Africa's growing self-sufficiency in the military sphere.

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In the view of the Committee, the grave new development in the area requires the serious consideration of the Security Council. The Committee urges the Security Council to decide that the situation in South Africa constitutes a threat to the peace in terms of Chapter VII of the Charter, and to take steps accordingly. The Committee emphasizes the need for full implementation of Security Council resolution 282 (1970) on the arms embargo, and recommends further that the Security Council call upon all States to ban the transfer to South Africa of advanced technology or information which can be utilized for military purposes, and to refrain from importing military supplies manufactured by, or in collaboration with, South Africa. The Special Committee reiterates that there is no exception and there can be no exception to the arms embargo against South Africa, and that there can be no valid distinction between the supply of sophisticated weapons for external aggression, and the supply of small arms for internal repression.

Representatives may also like to consider whether the arms embargo by itself has not been overtaken by the development of armament industry and progress in nuclear technology in South Africa. We may reasonably ask whether the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on the subject, besides being ineffective, have not become irrelevant and redundant? If so, should not resolution 282 (1970) be supplemented by more positive action?

I would now submit to this Committee the report on the International Conference of Trade Unions against Apartheid, held in Geneva in June of this year. The report is contained in document A/9169. I need not emphasize again the importance of that conference, in which the United Nations played a major role and which took over two years to prepare; it was attended by 380 delegates from more than 200 union organizations, representing 180 million workers from all over the world. The conference represents a landmark in the development of the international campaign against apartheid. It recognized that the struggle of the oppressed workers of South Africa for human rights and freedom is the struggle of workers all over the world. As the report points out, the conference

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was most timely in the light of the historic strikes by black workers in South Africa in the spring of 1973 and the demonstrations of solidarity with those oppressed workers by the international and national trade unions in many parts of the world.

The workers can play a crucial role in the struggle against apartheid, as the Australian dockworkers demonstrated recently when they refused to service South African ships in protest over the killing of African mine workers in Carletonville, South Africa, and we hope that the conference will lead to more concerted action by the trade union movement against apartheid.

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The conference unanimously adopted a resolution with concrete proposals for action by the trade unions, in particular a boycott of South African ships and planes; a boycott of South African goods; pressure on economic and financial groups which collaborate with South Africa to discontinue such collaboration; and action to stop emigration of white skilled workers to South Africa.

Those who still believe the myth that South Africa is an outpost of Western civilization and a democratic form of government in the dark and so-called "uncivilized" continent may ponder the opinion publicly expressed by Alan Paton, David Welsh and Neville Curtis. I quote Curtis:

> "In fact real power may no longer be located either in Parliament itself or even in the Nationalist Party, but in the hands of perhaps a dozen men who control the army, communications, the police, the security police, the Nationalist Party and the Afrikaaner Church and cultural institutions."

The Afrikaaner intellectual is disturbed by the situation. The fears and doubts were clearly expressed earlier this year by Dick Richard, editor of a loyal Nationalist Party daily Die Vaderland, who said:

> "There is something going on in the soul of the Afrikaaner, a change, an adaptation, a feeling around for new conceptions. And it is happening with a feeling of uncertainty, even a slight undertone of fear about the future of whites in Africa."

Before concluding this chronicle of woe, misery, defiance and arrogance, I should like to quote a poignant passage and a sincere appeal from a South African white intellectual:

> "Finally, it must be stressed that the international dependence of the white elite and the economy is going to grow and not decrease, and that the white elite -- by diplomacy and particularly by economic expansion -- is keen to strengthen its internal position by gaining international credibility and active support. It rests with corporations, private individuals and Governments to determine whether their involvement and participation in South Africa have been co-opted

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> into this process, or whether they provide any support for the majority of South Africans in their attempts to obtain change. At this point in time most interests have been co-opted.... The situation within South Africa is rising to a crisis which will either be staved off by further repression or explode into active conflict whose dimensions and impact may extend far beyond South Africa itself. A scenario of events is difficult to construct, as much depends on unforeseen crises or events at present in the making; but unless there is rapid change towards greater equality and distribution of power tragedy lies ahead. It is in the interests of the Western nations to make a far greater attempt to ensure that this tragedy is avoided, and to align their interests with those of the majority of South Africans."

That was a quotation from the white South African intellectual, Curtis. Mr. Curtis is a former President of the National Union of South African students.

There are three loci of power which can influence the course of events in South Africa: the African elite, the black majority, and a concerted international action. The Special Committee has been particularly concerned with international action. Its programme of action is now before the Committee and the South African victims of apartheid are awaiting its decision.

Mr. OGBU (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid: As this is the first time I am taking the floor in this Committee, I would like to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the chairmanship of this Committee. We are particularly gratified at your election because Hungary is a founding member of the Special Committee on Apartheid and we have had occasion to work very closely with you in formulating plans for more effective international action against apartheid.

I would also like to congratulate the Vice-Chairman and the Rapporteur of this Committee on their election.

We hope that under your guidance this Committee will be able this year to have a fruitful discussion and adopt decisions which will lead to more effective and concerted action against apartheid in South Africa.

Having listened carefully to the erudite Rapporteur of the Special Committee on Apartheid who, apart from reporting on the activities of the Committee, has quoted from philosophy to current events in Washington, to wit, at this point in time.

In fulfilling its mandate, the Special Committee has for the past 10 years reported to the General Assembly on the developments concerning apartheid and has emphasized the threat of these policies of South Africa to the maintenance of international peace and security. It has pointed out the arrogant defiance of South Africa to the requests and demands of the General Assembly and the Security Council. It has documented that Government's continued disregard for its obligations under the United Nations Charter and its aggravation of racial policies resulting in violence and bloodshed. It has called upon Member States and, in fact, the international community as a whole to exert pressure against the South African régime until it abandons its racial policies. However, South Africa remains intransigent and has even reacted with increasingly brutal repressive measures.

For 25 years the United Nations and the international community have been seized with the problem of apartheid and the means to be used to combat that policy. After all these years it is disheartening to see us gathered here again to discuss measures to solve the grave dangers of the worsening

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situation in South Africa. The Special Committee on Apartheid considers that this session of the General Assembly must act determinedly and must take decisive steps to eradicate apartheid; it must insist that this scourge of racism in the southern part of Africa be brought to an end; it must insist on the full implementation of United Nations resolutions by all Member States; it must resolutely insist that it can no longer tolerate the attitude and the criminal actions of the South Africa régime and do all in its power to rectify the situation.

We all realize that there is hardly any member in this forum who condones South Africa's apartheid policy. We have all, in one way or another, expressed abhorrence of that policy. However, there seems to be a lack of will and determination for appropriate action. It is in this respect that the Special Committee feels that an effective programme of international action is long overdue. The groundwork for such a programme has already been done and the elements of the programme were formulated at the International Conference of Experts for the Support of Victims of Colonialism and Apartheid, held at Oslo in April 1972, and the International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid, held in Geneva in June 1973. They have been incorporated in the recommendations and conclusions of the report of the Special Committee.

(Mr. Ogbu, Nigeria)

I believe that if these proposals are adopted by the General Assembly, they can help us set the pace for renewed efforts during the Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The actions and decisions taken by this session will be highly significant during this decade, aimed at the systematic elimination of the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination. South Africa has shown no intention of implementing United Nations resolutions and has continued to defy the authority of the General Assembly and the Security Council. It has even intensified its inhuman and repressive apartheid rule.

At a time when the international community was mourning the thirteenth year of the tragic and brutal massacre of Sharpeville, South Africa celebrated that occasion by murdering in cold blood 12 African mine workers at Carletonville in September of this year. These mine workers were demonstrating for wage increases when the police opened fire, killing 12 and injuring over 30 others. Many of them were running away from the police and they were shot in the back. This typifies the way the minority régime regards the lives of black people.

The Special Committee is therefore duty bound to impress upon this session that the need for action has never been more urgent. The United Nations cannot afford to continue to coexist with apartheid for another decade while millions of black people are subjected to brutal oppression in violation of the principles of the Charter and in defiance of the resolutions of the United Nations. It is imperative, I submit, that we have a clear understanding of our aims and objectives in the years ahead.

We should neither underestimate nor over-estimate the capabilities of South Africa. South Africa today is economically stronger than it has ever been. It has built up a powerful defence force and police, and has acquired an enormous amount of military equipment and rapidly developed an armaments industry. It has accumulated that strength as a result of increasing financial, trade and technological links with certain countries which covertly or overtly disregard the United Nations decisions and their own stated policies. South Africa has accumulated that strength because those countries chose to rely in their military calculations on this minority régime rather than on the oppressed people of South Africa. It has accumulated strength because those countries, three of them

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permanent members of the Security Council -- and I do not hesitate to name them: France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America -- refuse to accept their responsibilities and continue to ignore the resolutions of the Security Council. I am referring here particularly to resolution 282 (1970) concerning the arms embargo. Some Western countries, particularly France, invoke the unpalpable argument of distinguishing between arms for internal repression and arms for external defence. We, States Members of this Organization, must categorically state that we cannot be convinced by such an argument and that the implementation of the arms embargo must be strictly observed without any exceptions or reservations.

Only a few weeks ago the permanent representative of France to the United Nations told me-- and conceded the fact --that his country sold Mirage intercepter planes to South Africa for supposedly defence purposes. I feel that we should unequivocally reject such a distinction between offensive and defensive weapons. The Special Committee on Apartheid has submitted a special report to the Security Council and the General Assembly, drawing attention to breaches of the arms embargo. It has also prepared another report -- to which the Chairman of the Committee has referred -- on the question of the implementation of United Nations resolutions for the consideration of the General Assembly.

We all know that recently there has been an attempt on the part of Western corporations to argue that investment in South Africa would reduce the severity of apartheid and would allegedly change South Africa's policy from within. This type of argument cannot hold against the stark truth in South Africa under the apartheid régime. The period of the most extensive foreign investments in South Africa was precisely the period of the most intensive application of apartheid. It was the period when the migrant labour policy was extended, when the disparity between black and white wages increased, when the African workers were deprived of elementary trade union rights. It is gratifying to see that more and more concerned churches, trade unions and individuals have begun to realize the fallacy of the argument and the danger of its being used to legitimize both the investments and the status quo in South Africa. However, there is a long way to go in this respect and the pressure should be continued until complete disinvestment is achieved.

(Mr. Ogbu, Nigeria)

In a thorough five-year study of the situation of South Africa, the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society, a number of prominent academics and other experts in South Africa have concluded that the country is in the early stages of a new historical process in which the initiative is passing into black hands. The tempo of this process could only accelerate no matter what temporary setback black initiative might receive. Earlier this year we witnessed the unrehearsed strikes involving over 100,000 black workers. In a country where strikes by Africans are a criminal offence subject to a severe punishment -- indeed, possibly even to death under the Sabotage Act and the Terrorism Act -- one could appreciate the courage and determination of these workers who revolted against exploitation and national oppression. Realizing the explosiveness of the situation, South Africa responded by accelerating its Bantustan programme.

In spite of the enormous effort and resources devoted to propaganda, I must say that the South African Government has not succeeded in deceiving world opinion. It is, therefore, increasingly relying on new tactics. This Government and its supporters in the business community are more and more trying to use the names of some blacks in South Africa to oppose international action against apartheid. This is the same old game of divide and rule played by colonialists and imperialists.

At the International Trade Union Conference against Apartheid in Geneva, in June of this year, for instance, there appeared a black trade unionist from South Africa who is a leader of an unregistered trade union. She went there to oppose sanctions against South Africa, presumably on a ticket of the Government of South Africa. After seeing the opposition by the representatives to her participation in the Conference, she decided that she would submit her statement for the record. I understand that she again changed her mind rather late.

At the end of the Conference we were rather astonished to find that much of the Western press had given more coverage to her statement -- which was not heard at the Conference -- than to the work of the Conference in which 180 trade union organizations from all over the world, representing 200 million workers, had unanimously agreed on a plan of action against apartheid. Nothing was said about this in the Western press.

(Mr. Ogbu, Nigeria)

As recently as last month, the Trust Bank of Cape Town placed a series of expensive advertisements in newspapers in New Zealand, Australia, the United States of America and the United Kingdom. Each of these advertisements, which covers a full page or a half page, includes a photograph of an African leader in South Africa and a statement alleged to have been made by that leader, against economic isolation of South Africa. It has chosen for this purpose Chief Buthelezi, chief executive officer of the Bantustan set aside for the Zulus; Chief Lucas Mangope, chief minister of the Bantustan set aside for the Tswana people; and Mrs. Lucy Mvubelo, secretary of the National Union of Clothing Workers in South Africa. The last name, I suspect, is the name of the lady who appeared in Geneva, on the South African ticket.

I would not like to criticize these black people in South Africa who have perhaps allowed their names to be used in this fashion by a Bank which profits from the apartheid system, for propaganda against resolutions of the United Nations. I would, however, like to warn any foreign governments or companies which are anxious to utilize these statements to violate United Nations resolutions, that they would be making a great mistake if they tried to choose the leaders or the spokesmen for the black people of South Africa on the basis of whether their statements are convenient in terms of making profit from apartheid in South Africa. That would be a paternalistic attitude which must be rejected.

The genuine leaders of the black people of South Africa are the leaders who have led the people in the struggle for freedom and liberty, the leaders who are now in jail and in exile. The so-called leaders, chosen by the South African régime under the conditions of brutal repression and arbitrary division of the African people, cannot be recognized by us as the genuine spokesmen of the African people.

We do appreciate the difficulties of functioning in South Africa under the present conditions and we would not like to launch an attack on some of the blacks who have expressed doubts about the United Nations action. But we cannot -- and here I speak as an African -- accept their statements as representative of African opinion. In fact, there is overwhelming evidence that the African people want no compromises on freedom of equality.

(Mr. Ogbu, Nigeria)

Last week, the General Assembly, by a very large majority, adopted a resolution rejecting the credentials of the South African delegation. The Assembly has, thereby, taken a step forward after giving a series of serious warnings to the racist régime in Pretoria. The importance of this step should not escape the attention of all delegations.

As the Special Committee on Apartheid said in its recent statement on political prisoners in South Africa:

> "The men and women persecuted by the South African régime for their opposition to apartheid and racism truly represent the people of South Africa. The Nationalist Party régime which conceived the odious policy of apartheid and continues to maintain it by force against a recalcitrant majority in no way represents the people of South Africa and should not be accorded that privilege." (A/9022, para. 87)

The Pretoria régime does not even pretend to be anything but the so-called "white nation" in South Africa.

That régime, in its determination to perpetuate its domination over the African people and its exploitation of the African workers, has resorted to brutal measures which violate its obligations under the United Nations Charter and which are in flagrant contradiction of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

It has thereby created, as recognized by practically all the Member States, a serious danger, if not a clear threat, to international peace and security. It has illegally occupied the territory of Namibia, for which the United Nations has a special responsibility. The despatch of its troops to Rhodesia, in collusion with the Smith régime, can only be characterized as an aggression against the administering Power and, in effect, against the United Nations itself. It has sent its mercenaries into Mozambique and has colluded with the Portuguese colonial régime in Mozambique and Angola.

Member States have recognized that the policy of apartheid practised in South Africa and imposed in Namibia is a crime, and this session of the General Assembly will be adopting a convention for the suppression and punishment of this crime.

(Mr. Ogbu, Nigeria)

We feel, therefore, that the United Nations must now face the situation squarely and take the action required of it under the Charter. The South African delegation may be armed with papers which look like credentials and it may appear to follow diplomatic protocol; but the other face of the South African régime is that of a criminal who has been persecuting and torturing the black people and their leaders, who has been committing and continues to commit acts of aggression.

We must draw the logical conclusions of the decision of the General Assembly and act accordingly.

On the eve of the tenth anniversary of the Organization of African Unity, the Chairman of that Organization, H.E. General Yakubu Gowon, expressed what he termed a "message of hope for the colonial and racist régimes" (A/PV.2141, p. 16). He said:

> "Nobody in Africa wishes to adopt the path of armed struggle and conflict against those minority régimes for the love of it. Nobody has asked that people who normally live in Africa and wish to consider themselves as part of Africa should, by any manner or means, be made to feel unwelcome. Those who are born among us and live and join us both in spirit and co-operation are welcome to live in Africa. For they are Africans. It is for this reason that we made genuine efforts to assure the world of our desire for racial harmony on conditions of mutual respect and fundamental human rights of all the inhabitants of the continent." (Ibid.)

It is up to South Africa's minority régime to heed that message or bear the responsibility of its eventuality.